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with his conscience, if he has not already done so, to determine in the light of "the truth as it is in Jesus" how he will act.

Brevities.

. . . A Portuguese League of Peace has just been founded at Lisbon. Most cordial and fraternal salutations to the new organization.

. . . We greatly regret to learn of the death of Aaron M. Powell of the Purity Alliance, New York, editor of the *Philanthropist*. He was an experienced and loyal friend of peace.

. . . The August number of the *New England Magazine*, 5 Park Square, Boston, will contain an illustrated article on the Hague Conference, by Benjamin F. Trueblood.

. . . The Venezuela arbitration tribunal has commenced its work at Paris. The time so far has been taken up by Sir Richard Webster in presenting the British side of the case in a long historical review.

. . . One of the most interesting meetings at the great Woman's Congress in London was that on arbitration, arranged for by a committee of which Lady Aberdeen was chairman. A number of the leading peace women from different countries gave ten minute addresses.

. . . The national Christian Endeavor Convention recently held at Detroit was one of the most successful which the United Society has ever held. One great meeting was devoted to arbitration and peace, the society now having made this a fixed and prominent part of its program.

. . . The Universal Peace Union, in addition to its regular annual convention at Mystic, Ct., on the 23d to the 26th of August, is conducting a summer school in the Peace Grove and Temple. It is expecting a large number of peace workers to give instruction and lectures. For information address Rev. Amanda Deyo, Mystic, Ct.

. . . The sixth season of summer lectures at Greenacre, Eliot, Me., was opened on July 1. As is her rule, Miss Farmer devoted the opening days to the subject of peace. Among the speakers on peace were Dr. Lewis G. Janes, of Cambridge, Rev. Samuel Richard Fuller, of Boston, and Rev. Benjamin Fay Mills.

Proceedings of the International Peace Conference.

The International Conference on Peace and Disarmament called by the Czar of Russia opened at The Hague on Thursday, May 18, at 2.15 o'clock P. M., in the Orange Hall in the Queen's "House in the Woods." When the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. de Beaufort, to whose lot it fell on behalf of the Dutch government to open the Conference, rapped on the table for order, "a great silence" fell upon the little group of diplomats gathered in the hall. There were less than one hundred of them, and there were present besides them only a small group of representatives of the press, the Baroness

von Suttner, whose name is the best known of the peace propagandists of Europe, and an English Friend, Francis William Fox, a member of the British Peace Crusade Committee. All these "outsiders" sat in the gallery of the dome forty feet above the heads of the delegates, and their presence was scarcely known to the latter.

The hall, which is an octagonal one, and covered, sides and dome, with paintings by famous Dutch painters of the seventeenth century, was just large enough to accommodate the gathering. It had been specially fitted up for the occasion. The hard floor had been carpeted, and the seats for the delegates put upon a raised temporary floor, sloping in to the center from two directions. The president's chair was on the south side, windows looking out from behind it on the beautiful gardens in the rear of the palace. The seats of the delegations had been chosen alphabetically. The delegates sat facing one another from the two sides, except that seats for the Russian delegation had been prepared to the right and left of the president's chair, at a horseshoe-shaped table. The table for the secretaries was in front of the chair. On the desk in front of each delegate was a portfolio on which was inscribed in French "Conférence de la Haye, 1899." The delegates were all in plain morning dress, with the exception of three or four military and naval men, one of these being Captain Mahan, who was in naval uniform. There was a conspicuous absence throughout the Conference of anything of a military character, except that now and then a military delegate might be seen striding away somewhere in uniform. It was a little curious to see at a Peace Conference a soldier, not a policeman, standing guard at the gateway, and permitting no one to enter without his delegate's or visitor's card. But these soldiers belonged to the ordinary royal guard, and might have been seen at any other time just the same. When the delegates were in their places Mr. de Beaufort opened the Conference with the following brief address of welcome:

"In the name of my August Sovereign, I have the honor to bid you welcome, and to express the feelings of profound respect and lively gratitude which I entertain towards the Emperor of All the Russias, who, in appointing The Hague as the meeting place of the Peace Conference, paid a high honor to our country. The Emperor of Russia, in taking that noble initiative, which has evoked the plaudits of the whole civilized world, desired to realize the wish expressed by one of his most illustrious predecessors, the Emperor Alexander I., to see all the sovereigns and all the nations of Europe come to an agreement among themselves to live together like brothers, aiding one another in their mutual necessities. Inspired by these noble traditions of his august ancestor, his Majesty proposed to all the governments whose representatives are here to-day the assembling of a Conference whose task should be to seek means for putting an end to incessant armaments and preventing the calamities which threaten the entire world.

"The day of the meeting of this Conference will be, without doubt, a day of mark in the history of the century which is about to close. It coincides with the fête which all the subjects of the Czar celebrate as a national holiday, and in associating myself from the bottom of

my heart with all possible wishes for the happiness of the magnanimous Sovereign, I will venture to constitute myself the mouthpiece of the whole civilized world in expressing the hope that his Majesty, seeing the realization of his generous schemes through the efforts of this Conference, may be able in the future to look back on this day as the most glorious day in his life.

"Her Majesty, my August Sovereign, imbued by the same sentiments which inspired the Emperor of Russia, desired to place at the disposal of the Conference the most beautiful historical monument in her possession. The hall in which you are now assembled is decorated by the best artists of the seventeenth century. It was built by the widow of Prince Frederick Henry in memory of her noble husband. Among the groups of allegorical figures which you will admire here, one — connected with the Peace of Westphalia — merits very special attention. It is the one which is at the doorway of this hall, where you see Peace entering this hall to close the Temple of Janus. I trust that this beautiful allegory will be of good augury for your labors, and that after you have completed them you will be able to say that Peace, whom Art has introduced into this hall, has gone forth to spread her blessings among the whole of humanity."

At the end of the speech, which was listened to in profound silence and received with marks of unanimous approval, Mr. de Beaufort proposed that the following telegram be sent to the Czar :

"The Peace Conference lays at the feet of your Majesty its respectful congratulations on the occasion of your birthday anniversary, and expresses its sincere desire to coöperate in the accomplishment of the great and noble work in which your Majesty has taken the generous initiative, and for which it begs you to accept its humble and profound gratitude."

Mr. de Beaufort then proposed that Mr. de Staal, the chief of the Russian Commission, be made the president of the Conference. This was unanimously and heartily agreed to. Mr. de Staal, on taking the president's chair, Mr. de Beaufort seating himself at his right, delivered the following short address :

"My first duty is to express to the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs my sincere gratitude for the noble terms in which he has just referred to my August Master. His Majesty will be deeply touched by the exalted sentiments with which Mr. de Beaufort is inspired, as well as by the spontaneity with which this high assembly has associated itself with them. Though it is to the Emperor of Russia that the initiative for the meeting of the Conference is due, we owe it to her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands to have called us together in her capital. It is a happy augury for the success of our labors that we are met together under the auspices of a young sovereign whose charm makes itself felt in a wide circle, and whose heart, open to everything great and generous, has displayed so much sympathy for the cause which brings us here. Amid the calm surroundings of The Hague, in the bosom of a nation which forms so striking a factor of universal civilization, we have before our eyes a brilliant example of what solid worth, patriotism, and sustained energy can achieve.

"It is on the historic soil of the Netherlands that the greatest problems of the political life of states have been discussed, and here one may say was the cradle of the science of international law. For centuries the principal negotiations between the European powers have been conducted here. Here, lastly, was signed the remarkable pact which established a truce in the bloody struggles between states. We are thus on historic soil.

"I have now to thank the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands for the terms so eloquent, so flattering — too flattering, indeed — which he has used in regard to myself. I feel sure that I am expressing the sentiments of all the members of this high assembly when I assure his Excellency, Mr. de Beaufort, how happy we should have been to see him preside at our meetings. His place in the presidential chair was indicated not only by the precedents followed on such occasions, but also by the qualities of the eminent statesman now directing the foreign policy of the Netherlands. His presidency would, moreover, have been an additional sign of respect that we should have liked to render to the august Sovereign who has deigned to offer us gracious hospitality.

"As for myself, I cannot consider my appointment as being inspired by anything else than by my position as plenipotentiary of the Emperor, my August Master, the initiator of the idea of this Conference. It is on this ground that I accept with deep gratitude the distinguished honor which the Minister for Foreign Affairs has conferred upon me in proposing me for the presidency, and I thank the members of the Conference for having ratified his choice. I shall use every endeavor in order to justify their confidence, but I am perfectly aware that the advanced age which I have reached is, alas! a sad privilege and a weak auxiliary. I hope at least that it will constitute a claim upon your indulgence."

Mr. de Staal then proposed the sending of the following telegram, in the name of the Conference, to the Queen of the Netherlands :

"The members of this Conference, assembled for the first time in this beautiful palace, hasten to lay at the feet of your Majesty their best wishes, praying you to accept their homage and gratitude for the hospitality which you have so graciously deigned to offer them."

The reading of this message was warmly applauded. Mr. de Staal then moved that Mr. de Beaufort be appointed honorary president of the Conference, and that A. P. C. van Karnebeek, Bart., the first Dutch delegate, be made vice-president. The motion was unanimously agreed to. The president then named ten secretaries to serve the Conference, the general secretary being J. C. N. Van Eys, Bart., of the Netherlands. The persons named were chosen, and took their seats at the table in front of the chair. It was then decided, on motion of the president, that the deliberations of the Conference should be held in secret. The Conference then adjourned for two days in order to give time for the division into sections for the study of the various questions indicated in the Czar's circular. The opening meeting lasted only about twenty-five minutes.

SECOND SESSION.

The second session was held on Saturday, May 20, at 11 o'clock, with closed doors. The president com-

municated to the Conference the text of the two following telegrams received respectively from Queen Wilhelmina, and from the Emperor of Russia through Count Muravieff:

"While thanking your Excellency as well as the members of the Peace Conference for the sentiments expressed in your telegram, I seize with pleasure this opportunity to express to you again a cordial welcome to my country. I desire most sincerely that, with the help of God, the work of the Conference may realize the generous thought of your August Sovereign.

(Signed) WILHELMINA."

"The Emperor prays you to be kind enough to convey to the Conference his sincere thanks and his most ardent wishes. My August Master commands me to make known to your Excellency how deeply he has been affected by the telegram which you have sent him.

(Signed) COUNT MURAVIEFF."

Mr. de Staal then delivered the following address as to the purposes and work of the Conference:

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

"Gentlemen,—The principal object of our deliberations is to seek more efficacious means for assuring to all peoples the benefits of a real and lasting peace, to use the terms of the circular of August 12 (24). The name Peace Conference, which the instinct of nations, outstripping the decisions adopted in this respect by the governments, has given to our meeting, well indicates the essential subject of our labors. The Peace Conference cannot fail in the task which devolves upon it. It must cause to come out of these deliberations a tangible result which the whole of mankind awaits with confidence. The alacrity which all the powers displayed in accepting the proposal contained in the Russian circular is a most eloquent testimony to the unanimity which obtains with regard to pacific ideas. It is therefore for me an agreeable duty to request the delegates of all the states represented here to transmit to their respective governments the reiterated expression of thanks of the Russian government. The very composition of this meeting is a sure guarantee of the spirit in which we shall approach the task which is confided to us.

"The governments are represented here by statesmen who have played a part in the destinies of their countries, by eminent diplomatists who have been concerned in the greatest transactions and who all know that the first requirement of the nations is the maintenance of peace. With them are savants who in the domain of international law enjoy a justly merited renown. The general and superior officers of the land and sea forces who will assist us in our labors will also afford us the aid of their high competence. Diplomacy, as we all know, has for its object the prevention and smoothing away of conflicts among states, the moderation of rivalries, the conciliation of interests, and the avoidance of misunderstandings, and to substitute understanding for disagreements. I may be permitted to say that, in obedience to a general law, diplomacy is no longer only an art in which personal ability plays an exclusive part; it tends to become a science which ought to have fixed rules for the solution of international conflicts. That is the ideal object which diplomacy ought to have to-day before its

eyes, and great progress will incontestably have been accomplished if diplomacy succeeds in establishing here some of the rules of which I have just spoken; also, we shall seek more particularly to generalize, to codify the practice of arbitration and mediation or the employment of good offices.

"These ideas form, so to speak, the very essence of our task, the most general aim suggested for our efforts to prevent conflicts by pacific means. There is no question of entering the domain of Utopia. In the work we are about to undertake we shall have to reckon with the possible, and not seek to pursue abstractions—this, however, without sacrificing anything of our ulterior hopes. We must remain on the territory of reality and penetrate to its lowest depth, so as to build a solid foundation, to lay a concrete base. Now, what does reality show us? We see among nations a community of material and moral interests which do not cease to grow. The ties which unite all the portions of the great human family are ever becoming closer. A nation could not remain isolated if it wished to; it forms part of one single organism. Rivalries undoubtedly exist, but at present do they not seem to be rather on the economic ground—on the ground of the great commercial expansions which spring from the same need of spreading abroad the surplus activity which does not find sufficient employment in the mother country? Rivalry thus understood may even be advantageous, provided that there exists above it the idea of justice and of the lofty sentiment of the great human fraternity. If, then, nations are united by so many ties, is there not ground for inquiring into the consequences which result therefrom? When a disagreement arises between two or several nations, others, without being directly involved in it, are deeply affected. The effects of an international conflict at any point whatsoever of the globe re-echo on all sides. It is for this reason that the third parties cannot remain indifferent to the conflict. Their conciliatory offices must be employed for its appeasement.

"These truths are not new ones. At all times there have been thinkers to suggest them, statesmen to apply them; but in our day they are more pressing than ever, and the fact of their being proclaimed by an assembly such as ours will fix an important date in the history of humanity. The nations have an ardent desire for peace, and we owe it to mankind, we owe it to the governments which have confided their duty to us and have entrusted to us the welfare of their peoples, and we owe it to ourselves, to do a useful work by specifying a method for putting into practice some of the means intended to ensure peace. Among these means must be placed arbitration and mediation. Diplomacy has for a long time admitted them in practice, but has not specified the method of their employment. It has not defined cases in which they would be applicable. To this exalted work we are about to devote our efforts, sustained by the conviction that we are working for the good of the whole of mankind in the path which previous generations have traced for us. But, inasmuch as we are firmly resolved to hold aloof from chimeras, inasmuch as we all recognize that our present task, pure and great as it may be, has its limits, we must also consider another side of the situation. When all chance of armed conflicts among nations

cannot be removed in an absolute manner, to mitigate the horrors of such conflicts would still be to work for the sake of humanity.

"The governments of civilized states have already concluded international agreements which have marked important stages in this direction. It is necessary for us to establish fresh ones, and for this category of questions the coöperation of so many competent persons present at this meeting cannot fail to be very valuable. But there are besides matters of a very great and difficult nature which are also connected with the idea of the maintenance of peace, and the examination of which seems to the Russian Imperial Government to come within the scope of the labors of the Conference. There is reason to ask whether, indeed, the peoples will not demand a limitation of progressive armaments. It devolves upon the governments in their wisdom to weigh in this connection the interests entrusted to them. Such, gentlemen, are the essential ideas which ought seemingly to govern our deliberations. We are about to examine them in a lofty and sincerely conciliatory spirit, so that we may tread a path which may lead to conciliation and peace. We shall thus be doing a useful work, for which future generations should be grateful to the sovereigns and chiefs of states represented within these precincts."

It was decided that the Conference should be divided into three general sections, the first on armaments, the second on the laws of war, and the other on arbitration and mediation. The president announced that each of the countries represented in the Conference was entitled to have a member on each of the three sections, and asked the different delegations to hand in to the bureau the names of the persons whom they wished to serve on each. This was subsequently done and the committees constituted as follows:

FIRST COMMITTEE.

GERMANY (three members): Baron von Stengel, Colonel Schwarzhoff, Naval Captain Siegel.
 UNITED STATES (three members): Mr. White, Captains Mahan and Crozier.
 AUSTRIA-HUNGARY (two members): Colonel Khuepach, Captain Soltyk.
 BELGIUM (two members): Mr. Beernaert, Count de Grelle Rogier.
 CHINA (no members).
 DENMARK (one member): Colonel Schnack.
 SPAIN (one member): Colonel Count del Serrallo.
 FRANCE (three members): Mr. Bihourd, General Mounier, Admiral Pephau.
 GREAT BRITAIN (two members): Vice-Admiral Sir John Fisher, Major-General Sir John Ardagh.
 GREECE (no member).
 ITALY (two members): General Zuccari, Naval Captain Bianco.
 JAPAN (two members): Colonel U'yehara, Naval Captain Sakomoto.
 LUXEMBURG and MEXICO (no members).
 NETHERLANDS (two members): General Den Beer Poortugael, Naval Captain Tadema.
 PERSIA (no member).
 PORTUGAL (one member): Senor D'Ornellas.
 ROUMANIA (two members): Mr. Beldiman, Colonel Coanda.

RUSSIA (five members): Mr. de Basily, Colonels Jilinsky and Barantzew, Naval Captain Schéine, Naval Lieutenant Ovtchinnikow.

SERVIA (one member): Colonel Maschine.

SIAM (one member): Mr. Rolin.

SWEDEN and NORWAY (two members): Colonel Brändström, Naval Commander Hjulhammar.

SWITZERLAND (one member): Colonel Kunzli.

TURKEY (two members): General Abdullah Pacha, Admiral Mehemed Pacha.

BULGARIA (one member): Major Hessaptchiew.

SECOND COMMITTEE.

GERMANY (four members): Dr. von Stengel, Dr. Zorn, Colonel Gross von Schwarzhoff, Captain Siegel.

UNITED STATES (four members): Mr. White, Mr. Stanford Newel, Captain Mahan, Captain Crozier.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY (four members): Mr. Mérey de Kapos-Mére, Mr. Lammasch, Colonel de Khuepach, Captain Soltyk.

BELGIUM (two members): Mr. de Beernaert, Chevalier Deschamps-David.

CHINA (three members): Yang Yü, Hoo-Wei-Teh, Loo-Tseng-Tsiang.

DENMARK (one member): Colonel Schnack.

SPAIN (two members): Senor de Villa Urrutia, Senor de Baguer.

FRANCE (three members): General Mounier, Vice-Admiral Pephau, Professor Renault.

GREAT BRITAIN (two members): Vice-Admiral Sir John Fisher, Major General Sir John Ardagh.

ITALY (four members): Count Zannini, Signor Pompili, General Zuccari, Captain Bianco.

JAPAN (one member): Mr. Motono.

LUXEMBURG (two members): Mr. Eyschen, Count de Villers.

NETHERLANDS (one member): Mr. Asser.

PORTUGAL (one member): Count de Selir.

ROUMANIA (two members): Mr. Beldiman, Mr. Papiniu.

RUSSIA (five members): Professor de Martens, Staff-Colonel Jilinsky, Colonel Count Barentzew, Naval Captain Schéine, Naval Lieutenant Ovtchinnikow.

SERVIA (two members): Mr. Miyatovitch, Mr. Veylovitch.

SIAM (one member): Mr. Corragioni d'Orelli.

SWEDEN and NORWAY (two members): Major-General Thaulow, Colonel Brändström.

SWITZERLAND (two members): Dr. Roth, Mr. Odier.

TURKEY (three members): Nouri Bey, Abdulla Pacha, Mehemed Pacha.

BULGARIA (one member): Dr. Stancioff.

THIRD COMMITTEE.

GERMANY (three members): Dr. Zorn, Colonel Gross von Schwarzhoff, Naval Captain Siegel.

UNITED STATES (three members): Mr. White, Mr. Seth Low, Mr. Holls.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY (three members): Count von Welsersheimb, Mr. Okolicsanyi, Mr. Sammasch.

BELGIUM (two members): Count de Grelle Rogier, Chevalier Descamps.

CHINA (three members): Yang Yü, Hoo-Wei-Teh, Loo-Tseng-Tsiang.

DENMARK (one member): Count de Bille.
 SPAIN (two members): Duke of Tetuan, Señor de Villa Urrutia.
 FRANCE (three members): Mr. Bourgeois, Baron d'Estournelles, Professor Renault.
 GREAT BRITAIN (two members): Sir Julian Pauncefote, Sir Henry Howard.
 ITALY (three members): Count Nigra, Count Zannini, Signor Pompili.
 JAPAN (one member): Mr. Motono.
 LUXEMBURG (two members): Mr. Eyschen, Count de Villers.
 NETHERLANDS (two members): Jonkheer van Karnebeek, Mr. Asser.
 PORTUGAL (one member): Senor D'Ornellas.
 ROUMANIA (one member): Mr. Papiniu.
 RUSSIA (three members): Mr. de Staal, Professor de Martens, Mr. de Basily.
 SERBIA (two members): Mr. Miyatovitch, Mr. Veylkovitch.
 SIAM (two members): Mr. Corragioni d'Orelli, Mr. Rolin.
 SWEDEN and NORWAY (two members): Baron Bildt, Mr. Konow.
 SWITZERLAND (three members): Dr. Roth, Colonel Kunzli, Mr. Odier.
 TURKEY (three members): Turkhan Pacha, Nouri Bey, Mehemed Pacha.
 BULGARIA (one member): Dr. Stancioff.

A meeting of the full Conference was held at noon on Tuesday, May 23, at which the presidents, vice-presidents, and honorary presidents of the three committees previously selected by the chairmen of the delegations were officially appointed. They were as follows:

FIRST COMMITTEE.

Honorary presidents: Count Münster and Mr. White; president: Mr. de Beernaert; vice-president: Mr. de Karnebeek.

This Committee is divided into two sections, war and marine.

Vice-presidents of war section: Abdullah Pacha, General Sir John Ardagh, and General Mounier. Vice-presidents of marine section: Admiral Sir John Fisher, Admiral Pephau, and Captain Siegel.

SECOND COMMITTEE.

Honorary presidents: the Duke of Tetuan, Turkhan Pacha, and Count von Welsersheimb; president: Professor Martens.

This Committee is also divided into two sections, the Red Cross section and the Brussels Conference section.

Vice-presidents of the Red Cross section: General Thaulow and Dr. Roth. Vice-presidents of the Brussels Conference section: Professor von Stengel and General Zuccari.

THIRD COMMITTEE.

Honorary presidents: Count Nigra and Sir Julian Pauncefote; president: Mr. Bourgeois; vice-presidents: Mr. de Bille, Baron d'Estournelles, Count Macedo, Herr Mérey von Kapos-Mére, Signor Pompili, and Dr. Zorn.

There was after this no full sitting of the Conference until Wednesday, June 21. The three Committees met

for the first time on Tuesday afternoon, May 23, the three presidents, Mr. Beernaert, Professor Martens, and Mr. Bourgeois presiding. The large number of honorary presidents and vice-presidents were appointed in order that each of the Committees might keep as much as possible in touch with the whole body of the delegates, and have the benefit of the counsel of the most competent and experienced men. The third committee, that on arbitration and mediation, was from the first recognized as the most important of the Conference. When it got to work it appointed a sub-committee called the *Comité de Rédaction*, or Drafting Committee, which became the very center of the entire proceedings. The chairman of this Committee was Senator Descamps, of Belgium, whose knowledge of the whole subject of arbitration was not surpassed by that of any other man in the Conference.

It is impossible to follow the work of the sections and sub-committees during the four weeks that followed. They sat with closed doors, and only meager reports were given out by the secretaries, or leaked out through the conversation of the members. The second and third Committees did serious and faithful work, from the beginning expecting to accomplish something important. The first Committee did not take up the subject of disarmament proper until late in the Conference; actually on June 23, when Colonel Gilinsky submitted the Russian proposals. They seemed afraid, as did the Conference as a whole, to tackle the subject, and hopeless of anything being done. The Russian proposals for a truce of armaments and budgets for five years, to apply only to the home countries and not to the colonies, received respectful attention, but nothing important came of it. The very nature of it foredoomed it to failure. It was evident, however, that the subject was pressing heavily on all minds, and that all thought that the matter could not be put off many years. The Committee spent much time in discussing the subjects contained in Articles 2, 3, and 4 of Count Muravieff's circular; namely, the subjects of new firearms, explosives, and powder, the limitation of the explosives in use, and the prohibition of the hurling of projectiles and explosives from balloons, and the prohibition of the use in naval warfare of submarine torpedo boats, or rams, etc. The English dum-dum bullet seems to have been the center of these discussions. A number of the delegations were in favor of restrictions along all these lines, but many were opposed; and the opinion finally prevailed that so long as war lasted it would be useless to try to prevent the application to it of new inventions or of deadly and powerful explosives.

One section of the second Committee dealt with the subject of the "Extension of the Geneva Red Cross Convention of 1864 to Maritime Warfare." This Committee was the first to give its report. The discussions were earnest and many-sided, but conducted in a most friendly and humane spirit. A good deal of difficulty was experienced in drawing up a Red Cross scheme for the sea because of the nature of marine warfare; but a scheme drawn principally by Professor Renault, of Paris, was finally declared to be very satisfactory and adopted by the Committee, and afterwards by the Conference. This scheme, along with the arbitration scheme and other measures adopted by the Conference, will be

given in full in a subsequent number of the *ADVOCATE*. We give below the original Geneva Convention of 1864, which, with the additional articles of 1868, constituted the basis of the discussions.

The second section of the second Committee had to deal with the Brussels Convention of 1874 concerning the laws and customs of war which it was sought to improve. The Brussels Convention is a long one, containing fifty-six articles. It would not greatly interest our general readers if we should give it. We shall hope to give in future the full text of the Hague Convention on this subject, which is considerably shorter than that of Brussels. This sub-committee went patiently over all these fifty-six articles; suppressing some, modifying others, and adding a few new ones. It is not expected that the governments will bind themselves absolutely to these new rules, but that they will agree to insert them in the instructions to their armies in the field to be observed as far as practicable. It was argued in the Committee that war is war, and that you must not "civilize" it so far as to take the life (or rather death) out of it.

The basis of the discussions of the Arbitration Committee was the scheme for a permanent tribunal submitted by Sir Julian Pauncefote. Plans were also submitted by the United States, by Russia, and by Italy. The scheme finally adopted by the Conference, which we shall give in full in a subsequent number, though based upon the British proposals, contained also additional modifications introduced from the other projects. In addition to the arbitration project a scheme for mediation was also drawn up by the third Committee, and adopted by the Conference. In shaping this scheme, which came from Russia, the secretary of the American Commission, Mr. Holls, had much to do.

THIRD SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE.

The first legislative act of the Conference took place at the plenary sitting on Tuesday, June 20. The ten additional articles to the Geneva Convention formed by the second Committee, extending the Convention to maritime warfare, were reported to the Conference and adopted. The American delegates called attention to certain additions which they thought ought to be made to the text. These were referred to the Committee to consider. The Conference appointed Count Nigra, Professor Martens, Mr. Renault, Senator Descamps, and Mr. Asser a committee to draft the general document containing the decisions of the Conference. There was a long, desultory conversation on the question of the advisability of recommending a special international Conference to revise the Geneva Convention of 1864.

THE ORIGINAL GENEVA RED CROSS CONVENTION OF 1864.

His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Baden, His Majesty the King of the Belgians, His Majesty the King of Denmark, Her Majesty the Queen of Spain, His Majesty the Emperor of the French, His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Hesse, His Majesty the King of Italy, His Majesty the King of Portugal and the Algarves, His Majesty the King of Prussia, the Swiss Confederation,

His Majesty the King of Württemberg, inspired alike with the desire of alleviating as much as they may be able the evils inseparable from war, of suppressing useless hardships, and of ameliorating the lot of soldiers wounded on the field of battle, have resolved to conclude a convention to this effect, and have named as their plenipotentiaries, to wit:

[Here follow the names.]

who, after having exchanged their powers, which were found to be in due and proper form, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE 1. Ambulances and military hospitals shall be acknowledged to be neutral; and, as such, shall be protected and respected by belligerents so long as any sick or wounded may be therein. Such neutrality shall cease if the ambulances or hospitals should be held by a military force.

ARTICLE 2. Persons employed in hospitals and ambulances, comprising the staff for superintendence, medical service, administration, transport of wounded, as well as chaplains, shall participate in the benefit of neutrality while so employed, and so long as there remain any wounded to bring in or to succor.

ARTICLE 3. The persons designated in the preceding article may, even after occupation by the enemy, continue to fulfill their duties in the hospital or ambulance which they serve; or may withdraw in order to rejoin the corps to which they belong. Under such circumstances, when these persons shall cease their functions, they shall be delivered by the occupying army to the outposts of the enemy.

ARTICLE 4. As the equipment of military hospitals remains subject to the laws of war, persons attached to such hospitals cannot, on withdrawing, carry away any articles except such as are their private property. Under the same circumstances an ambulance, on the contrary, shall retain its equipment.

ARTICLE 5. Inhabitants of the country who may bring help to the wounded shall be respected and shall remain free. The generals of the belligerent powers shall make it their care to inform the inhabitants of the appeal addressed to their humanity, and of the neutrality which will be the consequence of it. Any wounded man entertained and taken care of in a house shall be considered as a protection thereto. Any inhabitant who shall have entertained wounded men in his house shall be exempted from the quartering of troops, as well as of a part of the war contributions which may be imposed.

ARTICLE 6. Wounded or sick soldiers shall be entertained and taken care of to whatever nation they may belong. Commanders-in-chief shall have the power to deliver immediately to the outposts of the enemy soldiers who have been wounded in an engagement, when circumstances permit this to be done, and with the consent of both parties. Those who are recognized, after their wounds are healed, as incapable of serving, shall be sent back to their country. The others may also be sent back on condition of not again bearing arms during the continuance of the war. Evacuations, together with the persons under whose direction they take place, shall be protected by an absolute neutrality.

ARTICLE 7. A distinctive and uniform flag shall be adopted for hospitals, ambulances and evacuations. It

must, on every occasion, be accompanied by the national flag. An arm badge shall also be allowed for individuals neutralized, but the delivery thereof shall be left to military authority. The flag and the arm badge shall bear a red cross on a white ground.

ARTICLE 8: The details of execution of the present Convention shall be regulated by the commanders-in-chief of belligerent armies, according to the instructions of their respective governments, and in conformity with the general principles laid down in this Convention.

ARTICLE 9. The high contracting powers have agreed to communicate the present Convention to those governments which have not found it convenient to send plenipotentiaries to the International Conference at Geneva, with an invitation to accede thereto; the protocol is for that purpose left open.

ARTICLE 10. The present Convention shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Berne in four months or sooner if possible. In faith whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed it and have affixed their seals thereto. Done at Geneva, the twenty-second day of the month of August, of the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-four.

[The names follow.]

This Convention was afterward acceded to, in addition to the states mentioned in the preamble, by Sweden and Norway, Greece, Great Britain, Mecklenburg, Schwerin, Turkey, Bavaria, Austria, Russia, Roumania, Persia, Salvador, Montenegro, Servia, Bolivia, Chili, Argentine Republic, Peru, Japan and the United States, the accession of the latter not taking place until March 1, 1882.

An additional Convention, in fifteen articles, was drawn up by a Conference held at Geneva in October, 1868. Nine of these articles referred to maritime warfare. But this Convention was never ratified.

THE BRITISH ARBITRATION PROPOSALS.

ARTICLE 1. With the view of facilitating an immediate recourse to arbitration on the part of those States who may not succeed in settling their differences by diplomatic means, the signatory Powers have undertaken to organize in the following manner a permanent tribunal of arbitration, accessible at all times, and governed by the code of arbitration prescribed in this Convention, so far as it may be applicable, and in conformity with stipulations made in arrangements decided upon between the parties in litigation.

ARTICLE 2. To this effect a central office will be established permanently at X, where the archives of the tribunal will be preserved, and which will be entrusted with the conduct of its official business. A permanent secretary, an archivist, and sufficient staff will be appointed who will reside on the spot. The office will be the intermediary for communications relative to the meeting of the tribunal at the instance of the parties in litigation.

ARTICLE 3. Each signatory power will transmit to the others the names of two persons of its nationality, recognized in their country as jurists or publicists of merit, enjoying the highest reputation for integrity, disposed to accept the functions of arbitrators, and possessing all the necessary qualities. Persons thus designated will be members of the tribunal, and will be inscribed as such in the central office. In case of the death or retire-

ment of a member of the tribunal, provision will be made for his being replaced in the same manner as for his nomination.

ARTICLE 4. The signatory Powers, desiring to apply to the tribunal for the pacific settlement of differences which may arise amongst them, will notify this desire to the secretary of the central office, which will then furnish them immediately with a list of the members of the tribunal. The Powers in question will thereupon select from this list the number of arbitrators agreed upon in the arrangements. They will have, moreover, the power of adding arbitrators other than those whose names are inscribed in the list. The arbitrators thus chosen will form the tribunal for the arbitration, and will meet on the date fixed by the parties in litigation. The tribunal will sit generally at X, but will have the power of sitting elsewhere, and of changing its place from time to time, according to circumstances, as may suit its convenience, or that of the parties in litigation.

ARTICLE 5. Any State, although not a signatory Power, will be able to have recourse to the tribunal under the conditions prescribed by the regulations.

ARTICLE 6. The Government X... is directed to install at X... in the name of the signatory Powers, as soon as possible after the ratification of this Convention, a permanent Council of Administration, composed of five members and one secretary. It will be the duty of the Council to establish and organize a central office, which will be under its direction and control. It will issue from time to time the necessary regulations for the proper working of the central office, and will also settle all questions which may arise concerning the working of the tribunal, or which may be submitted to it by the Central Bureau. The Council will have absolute power as regards the nomination, the suspension, or the dismissal of all functionaries or employees. It will fix salaries and control general expenses. The Council will elect its president, who will have a preponderating voice. The presence of three members will suffice to constitute a quorum, and decisions will be taken by a majority of votes. The fees of the members of the Council will be fixed by agreement between the signatory Powers.

ARTICLE 7. The signatory Powers agree to contribute in equal shares the expenses of the Administrative Council and the central office. The expenses of each arbitration will be chargeable in equal parts to the States in litigation.

ARBITRATION PLAN PROPOSED BY THE AMERICAN COMMISSION.

Resolved, That in order to aid in the prevention of armed conflicts by pacific means, the representatives of the sovereign powers assembled together in this Conference be and they hereby are requested to propose to their respective governments a series of negotiations for the adoption of a general treaty, having for its object the following plan, with such modifications as may be essential to secure the adhesion of at least nine sovereign powers, four of whom at least shall have been signatories of the declaration of Paris, the German Empire being, for this purpose, the successor of Prussia, and the Kingdom of Italy the successor of Sardinia.

ARTICLE 1. The tribunal shall be composed of

persons nominated on account of their personal integrity and learning in international law by a majority of the members of the highest Court at the time existing in each of the adhering States, one from each sovereign State participating in the treaty, and who shall hold office until their successors are appointed.

ARTICLE 5. The bench of judges for each particular case shall consist of as many as may be agreed upon by the litigating nations, either of the entire bench or of any smaller number not less than three, to be chosen from the whole Court. In the event of a bench of three judges only, no one of those shall be a native subject or citizen of a State whose interests are in litigation in the case.

ARTICLE 6. The general expenses of the tribunal are to be equally divided or upon some equitable basis between the adherent powers; but those arising from each particular case shall be provided for as may be directed by the tribunal. The presentation of a case wherein one or both of the parties may be a non-adherent State shall be admitted only upon condition of a mutual agreement that the States so litigating shall pay respectively a sum to be fixed by the tribunal for the expenses of adjudication. The salaries of the judges may be so adjusted as to be paid only when they are actually engaged in the duties of the Court.

ARTICLE 7. Every litigant before the international tribunal shall have the right to a hearing of the case before the same judges within three months of the notification of the decision, on alleging newly discovered evidence, or submitting questions of law not heard and decided at the former hearing.

ARTICLE 8. This treaty shall become operative when nine sovereign States, such as are indicated in the resolution, shall have ratified its provisions.

MEMORANDUM FROM THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE UNITED STATES, SUBMITTED WITH THEIR PROJECT FOR
A PERMANENT INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL.

"The proposal herewith submitted takes its form as a resolution looking to action outside of the Conference from our instructions. The proposal shows the earnest desire of the President of the United States for a permanent international tribunal for the conduct of arbitration between nations and the willingness of the President to assist in the establishment of such a tribunal upon the general lines indicated.

"The Commissioners from the United States are ready, without insisting upon the form of their own recommendations, to try to develop the proposals heretofore submitted to the Conference, so that they shall embody what is essential in this plan. It seems to the United States Commissioners that it ought not to be difficult to associate with the several proposals, as they may eventually be developed for mediation in various forms of international inquiry and arbitration by special arrangement, a plan for a permanent tribunal of arbitration, which will embody what is essential in the American resolution."

THE RUSSIAN ARBITRATION PLAN.

Elements for the elaboration of a convention to be concluded by the Powers participating in the Hague Conference.

PART I. GOOD OFFICES AND MEDIATION.

ARTICLE 1. In order to prevent, as far as possible, recourse to force in international relations, the signatory Powers are agreed to employ every effort to bring about by pacific means the solution of conflicts which may arise among them.

ARTICLE 2. In consequence the signatory Powers are decided, in the event of serious disagreement or conflict, before appealing to arms to have recourse, so far as circumstances will permit, to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly Powers.

ARTICLE 3. In the event of mediation being spontaneously accepted by the States in conflict, the aim of the mediatory Government consists in endeavoring to bring about a conciliation between the States.

ARTICLE 4. The role of the mediatory Government ceases from the moment when the compromise proposed by it, or the basis of a friendly agreement which it may have suggested, shall not have been accepted by the States in conflict.

ARTICLE 5. Should the Powers consider it advisable, in the event of a serious disagreement or conflict between civilized States regarding questions of political interest, the Powers not implicated in the conflict shall offer, of their own initiative, so far as circumstances are favorable, their good offices or their mediation to the disputing States in order to remove the difference that has arisen by proposing an amicable solution which, without affecting the interests of other States, shall be of a conciliatory nature in the best interests of the parties in dispute.

ARTICLE 6. It remains well understood that mediation and the employment of good offices, either at the instance of the parties in dispute or of neutral Powers, shall bear strictly the character of friendly counsel and in no way of compulsory force.

PART II. INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

ARTICLE 7. In so far as regards a dispute relating to questions of right, and primarily to those affecting the interpretation or application of treaties in force, arbitration is recognized by the signatory Powers as being the most efficacious and most equitable means of settling these disputes in a friendly manner.

ARTICLE 8. The contracting Powers therefore undertake to have recourse to arbitration in cases relating to questions of the above mentioned order, so far as these affect neither the vital interests nor the national honor of the parties in dispute.

ARTICLE 9. Each State remains the sole judge of the question whether this or that case shall be submitted to arbitration, excepting the cases enumerated in the following article, where the signatory Powers consider arbitration as compulsory.

ARTICLE 10. After the ratification of the present act by all the signatory Powers, arbitration is obligatory in the following cases, so far as it affects neither the vital interest nor the national honor of the contracting parties: in the event of differences or disputes relating to pecuniary damages sustained by a State; in the event of disagreements relating to the interpretation or application of treaties and conventions hereafter mentioned — postal, telegraph, and railway treaties and conventions, and

those relating to the protection of submarine cables; agreements as to the means for preventing the collision of ships at sea; conventions relating to the navigation of international rivers and interoceanic canals; conventions regarding the protection of literary and artistic property, industrial property, patents, and trade marks; monetary and metrical conventions; sanitary conventions, etc.

ARTICLE 11. The above list may be completed by subsequent arrangements among the signatory Powers. Moreover each Power shall be able to enter into a special arrangement with another Power for the purpose of rendering arbitration obligatory in the above-mentioned cases before the general ratification, and also to extend the scope of arbitration to all cases which it is considered possible to submit to it.

ARTICLE 12. In all other cases of international conflicts not mentioned in the above articles, arbitration, while certainly being very desirable and recommended by the present act, is nevertheless purely facultative, — that is to say, it can only be applied on the spontaneous initiative of one of the parties in dispute, and with the express consent of the other parties.

ARTICLE 13. With the view of facilitating recourse to arbitration and its application, the signatory Powers are agreed to formulate a common arrangement for the employment of international arbitration, and for the fundamental principles to be observed in the drawing up of the rules of procedure to be followed pending the inquiry into the dispute, and the pronouncement of the decision of the arbitrators. The application of these fundamental principles, as also of the arbitration procedure indicated in the appendix to the present article, may be modified in virtue of a special arrangement between States which may have recourse to arbitration.

PART III. — INTERNATIONAL COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY.

ARTICLE 14. In cases in which divergencies of views occur between the signatory States, in connection with local circumstances giving rise to litigation of an international character, which cannot be settled by the ordinary diplomatic means, but in which neither the honor nor the vital interests of these States are engaged, the Governments interested agree to institute an international commission of inquiry in order to arrive at the causes of the disagreement, and to clear up on the spot, by an impartial and conscientious examination, all questions of fact.

ARTICLE 15. These international commissions shall be constituted as follows: Each Government interested shall appoint two members, and the four members united shall choose a fifth member, who shall at the same time be president of the commission. If the votes shall be divided for the choice of a president, the two Governments interested shall appeal either to another Government or to a third party, who shall appoint the president of the committee.

ARTICLE 16. Governments between which a grave disagreement or conflict shall arise in the circumstances indicated above shall engage to furnish the commission of inquiry with all means and facilities necessary for a thorough and conscientious study of the facts.

ARTICLE 17. The International Commission of Inquiry, after having acquainted itself with the circumstances in which the disagreement or conflict arose, shall

submit to the Governments interested a report signed by all the members of the Commission.

ARTICLE 18. The report of the Commission of Inquiry shall in no wise have the character of an arbitration judgment. It leaves the Governments in conflict at full liberty either to conclude a friendly arrangement on the basis of the said report, or to have recourse to arbitration by concluding an agreement *ad hoc*, or else by resorting to the active measures allowable in the mutual relations between nations.

The Russian proposal is followed by a draft code of arbitration.

The Hopefulness of International Arbitration.

Address at the Mohonk Conference.

BY REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM.

"Say not, the struggle nought availeth,
The labor and the wounds are vain,
The enemy fainteth not nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain.

"If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;
It may be in yon smoke concealed
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field.

"For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

"And not by eastern windows only
When morning comes, comes in the light;
In front the sun climbs slow, — how slowly, —
But westward, — look, the land is bright!"

So I phrase in the words of Clough, the English poet, my confession of faith as to the coming of the day when nations shall not learn war any more. I believe that the prospects are good, that they are brighter to-day than they ever have been. I believe that this is a day for the optimist, a day in which the lugubrious voice of the pessimist should no more be heard in the land.

Take first of all the present Conference at The Hague. Much has been said of it in this meeting, but I do not think that it fills the place in our imagination and our hopes which it ought to fill. While yesterday we had the concert of Europe, and the Cretan investment by the Allied Impotencies, to-day we are witnessing a concert of civilization. There has been no time in the past when all the powers of the earth have come together for such a purpose and in such a spirit and with such a representation as that which we witness in the Conference at The Hague. And there never has been a time, in the history of our country, when the United States sat so near the head of the table, and with so much potency for the determination of a hopeful issue of the Conference, as to-day. What may have been the causes which have led up to it does not lie within my province to discuss. But I challenge contradiction when I say that the moral force of the United States, in its effect upon the peoples and the sovereigns of the Old World, is greater at this moment than it has ever been in any moment of its history. And the whole of that force is pledged, by our